Illusion Web—Locating the *Guhyagarbha Tantra* in Buddhist Intellectual History

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INTRODUCTION—THE REALM OF DHARMAS

> He who knows well the interdependent origination
> equally knows the Void.
> He who knows not the interdependent origination
> will not comprehend the Void.[1]

The work from which this statement is extracted is an Old Tibetan translation from the Chinese which was not preserved in the Tibetan canon. Nevertheless, the idea that Mahāyāna replaced the interdependent origination (rten-'byung/pratītyasamutpāda) of the Elder Vehicle with their notion of the Voidness (Stong-pa-nyid/Śūnyatā) has long been an axiom of Japanese Buddhology.[2] I will not be speaking so much of Voidness, but of its close synonym, "Realm of Dharmas" (Chos-kyi Dbyings/Dharmadhātu) as the Mahāyāna equivalent of interdependent origination. This I will do less on philosophical grounds[3] and more by way of tracing the continuity and development of the literary images of the Web and the Palace which show, perhaps better than any philosophical argument, that the Buddhist thinkers themselves perceived the essential identity of the two conceptions. Thus, while my approach may be primarily literary and my aim broadly hermeneutical, I have done my best to keep the analysis grounded in a sense of historical development.

THE WEB AND THE PALACE IN THE *BRAHMA WEB SUTTA*

Such a study ought properly to begin with the general Indian background, but I have restricted myself to internal Buddhist developments. So, the proper

place to begin is the Pāli canon. In the very first sutta contained in the *Long Discourses* (*Dīgha Nikāya*), called the *Brahma Web* (*Brahma Jāla*),[4] we find discussions of 'wrong practice,' 'wrong views' and the interrelationship between the two, primarily. Part of the sutta may be summarized as follows[5] (The Buddha Himself is narrating):

> At the dissolution of the world, most of the world's inhabitants rise to the Ābhassara ('Od-gsal/Ābhāsvara)[6] Realm. After a long time, when the world begins to reform, an empty palace (gzhal-med-khang/vimāna) makes its appearance in the empty sky. A single being, by force of its karma, dies in the Ābhassara Realm and is born in the empty palace of Brahma. He is very lonely and wonders why others should not join him there. Then, by force of their karma, other beings are born in the palace. The first inhabitant believes that it was his own wish (smon-pa) that brought the other beings into existence. He thinks himself their father, lord, maker (byed-pa-po), originator ('byin-pa-po) and origin ('byin-byed). The other beings begin to believe him. They think that he is eternal and unchanging while they themselves are impermanent and unstable.

The bulk of the sutta is devoted to various non-Buddhist theories about the origins of things. The discussion (of 62 heretical views) concludes with the Buddha's declaration that those who hold to these sorts of fixed views, such as the view that Brahma created the world, are caught in the web of their own speculations. These speculations trap them in the interconnections of the twelve-fold chain of interdependent origination.

The Pāli and Sanskrit word Jāla will be returning again. It has a very broad significance, representing any object with a large number of holes. It may mean 'lattice work,' 'lace.' and 'web' as well as'snare,' 'trap,' or 'net.' In this context it clearly means 'trap' and the title could have been translated the *Brahma Trap*. It is primarily a subjective-based 'trap' due to erroneous presuppositions which in turn bind us to the objective 'trap' of interdependent origination. This objective trap is such because we, unlike the Buddha, do not perceive that it *is* a trap.

THE MAHĀYĀNA DEVELOPMENT

The truth as perceived by the Buddha (i.e., the objective sphere as experienced by the Buddha) is the truth of interdependent origination. But perhaps the most basic content of His revelation is the Noble Fourfold Truth and especially the fourth member, the Truth of the Path, which claims to make the Buddha's experience accessible to His followers. So, before entering into the Mahāyāna, it is essential to touch on the reasons why the Mahāyāna believed

it could offer a Superior Vehicle (Mahāyāna) for traveling down the Buddha's Path. The Mahāyānists cite many reasons, but the contrast between hearers (Nyan-thos-pa/Śrāvaka) and Bodhisattvas (Byan-chub-sems-dpa') provides the dialectic edge. The Hearers, according to Mahāyāna, experience at the end of their Path only the Voidness of the subjective 'person,' whereas the Bodhisattva also experiences the Voidness of the constituents of the objective sphere, the dharmas. This is because Hearers strive to purify themselves only from the obscurations (sgrib-pa/āvaraṇa) caused by afflictive emotions (nyon-rmongs/kleśa) without also overcoming the obscurations due to 'knowables' (shes-bya/jñeya), meaning dharmas. So, while the Hearer can only hope to achieve the State of Freedom (Thar-pa/Mokṣa) characterized by release from afflictive emotions, the Bodhisattva achieves, in addition, the State of Omniscience (Thams-cad Mkhyen-pa/Sarvajñā).[7] 'Omniscience' here means that there are no obscurations due to knowable objects, not necessarily 'Omniscience' in the sense that Christians apply the word to their conception of God.

It may be well argued that this model of the Hearer does not really apply to Theravāda ideals known from the Pāli canon. I have already shown how the 'trap' of the *Brahma Web Sutta* pertains to both the subjective and objective spheres. I would suggest that the Mahāyāna dialectic was developed at a time when *some* schools were tending to over-objectivize, materialize and even eternalize the dharmas. I think especially of some of the Abhidhamma Schools (Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika as known to Tibetan literature) and the Sarvāstivādins. The permanence of the interdependent origination itself was not an issue[8] since it is a principle and not a thing, but the idea of the permanency of the dharmas threatened to make Buddhism a form of materialism against the older idea that the phenomenal world exists only in a state of interdependence with the view on the 'self.'

From the eighteen dhātus[9] of the Abhidhamma Schools, the Mahāyāna chose the word Dharmadhātu (Realm of Dharmas) to express their views on the nature of the objective sphere. In the context of the eighteen dhātus, it meant the objective sphere corresponding to the sixth sense, which is 'thought.' The development in meaning of the word Dharmadhātu has been dealt with in the works cited[10] and need not detain us.

TOWARD A HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR THE *GUHYAGARBHA*

The next step in our reconstruction ought logically to be the Mahāyāna sūtra called the *Buddha Avataṃsaka* which, even though it did not inspire a special school in Tibet like it did in China, Korea and Japan, was still frequently quoted there. However, it is an alarmingly vast and complex body of scripture which cannot be disentangled here. I will be returning to it later on to show how some aspects of its message may be applicable for excavating the

intellectual content of the *Guhyagarbha Tantra*.[11] Before turning to the *Guhyagarbha* itself we must ask, "What is the *Gahyagarbha*? What importance has it had in Tibetan religious history?" The latter is easily answered. Its importance is demonstrated by the vast body of commentarial literature it has inspired over at least the last thousand years. In more recent times, it had a special place in the curriculum of the Nyingma 'university monastery' Mindroling (Smin-grol-gling) among others, and the history of its early transmission is, to a large extent, the history of the Nyingma tantras in general.

It is harder to define exactly *what* the *Guhyagarbha* is. For this, it must be placed in the general framework of Nyingma thought and historiography. Although it threatens to (and will) take us far afield, still it is a background for critical study. This is sadly necessary because of the traditional lack of credibility that the Nyingma tantras have been held in by some scholars from other schools of Tibetan Buddhism, an attitude that has been uncritically adopted by some non-Tibetan scholars. I suggest that the Nyingma traditions on the *Guhyagarbha*, above all, warrant as much or as little credibility as the traditions on any of the New Tantras (Rgyud Gsar-ma).

The *Guhyagarbha* is classified among the six Vajrayāna Vehicles of the Nyingma as *Mahā-yoga*:

Outer Capability Tantras (Phyi Thub-pa'i Rgyud)

4) *Kriyā* ('Ritual').

5) *Ubhaya* ('Both' Kriyā and Yoga. Sometimes called Upa-yoga, or 'Near Yoga' and also, less correctly, Upāya-yoga).

6) *Yoga* ('Meditation').

Inner Method Tantras (Nang Thabs-kyi Rgyud)

7) *Mahā-yoga* ('Great Yoga': *bskyed*, 'generation' stage meditation).

8) *Anu-yoga* ('Subsequent Yoga': *rdzogs*, 'completion' stage meditation).

9) *Ati-yoga* ('Supreme Yoga': *Rdzogs-chen*, 'Great Perfection').
   (a) *Sems-sde* ('Mental Class').
   (b) *Klong-sde* ('Receptive Centre Class').
   (c) *Man-ngag-gi-sde* ('Precept Class').
      (1) *Khregs-chod* ('Breakthrough').
      (2) *Thod-rgal* ('Crossover').

The last three (7-9) Vehicles *are* all Yoga Tantras, the Sanskrit prefixes indicating degrees of 'greatness.' This is clear from *Guhyagarbha* commentaries where the three are glossed as "great," "great-great" and "great-great-great" respectively.[12] These three divisions of Inner Method Tantras have of-

ten been identified by various teachers with the Father, Mother and Non-dual Tantras of the Anuttara-yoga class of the New Tantra schools' classification.

Within the Mahā-yoga canon,[13] the Nyingma distinguish eighteen classes (sde bco-brgyad) which I will list shortly. The source is a fairly recent one,[14] but then a work by Jñānamitra which is listed in the *Ldan-dkar-ma* catalogue[15] speaks of the eighteen classes (sde chen bco-brgyad) mentioning only two titles: 1) *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* (no. 3 below); 2) *Guhyasamāja* (*Guhya-samanytsa*, no. 9 below).[16] This text must date from around the beginning of the ninth century and would therefore be close to the time of Amoghavajra (see below). Where possible I have given the location for each of the indicated tantras in the two available reprints of the *Rnying-ma Rgyud-'bum* (*1973&1982*), the *Vairocana Rgyud-'bum* and the *Peking* and *Derge Kanjurs*.

A. BODY (sku)

1) *Glang-chen Rab 'Bog-gi Rgyud* (*The Best Elephant Sunk Tantra*).
1973 vol. 19, pp. 199-288 (24 chapters). Translated by Viśvamati and 'Jings Gsal-'bar.
See also Denwood, *India Office Catalogue*, no. 87.

2) *Glang-po Rab Chur Zhugs-kyi Rgyud* (*The Best Elephant Entered the Water Tantra*).

3) *Sangs-rgyas Mnyam Sbyor-gyi Rgyud* (*Buddhas' Equal Union Tantra*).
1973 vol. 16, pp. 163-273 (10 chaps.). Tr. by Vajrahāsa and Rma Rin-chen-mchog with the help of four commentaries.
1982 vol. 16, pp. 273-366 (23 chaps.). Tr. by Smṛtijñānakīrti.
Peking Kanjur, no. 8 (chaps. not clearly numbered, but same work as the 10 chapter version above).
Peking Kanjur, no. 9 (23 chaps). Tr. by Smṛtijñānakīrti and revised by Gzhon-nu-grags-pa.
This is the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* mentioned above.

B. SPEECH (gsung)

4) *Dbang-chen 'Dus-pa'i Rgyud* (*Great Power Gathering Tantra*).
1973 vol. 24, pp. 224-328 (35 chaps.). Tr. by Rakṣasiddhi and the Tibetan Kukurāja. Text established by Snubs Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes.
1973 vol. 32, pp. 181-216 (13 chaps.). Tr. by Padmasambhava and Vairocana.
Both of the above are Dbang-chen (Hayagrīva) Tantras.

5) *Gcig-las 'Phros-pa'i Rgyud* (*Emanated from the One Tantra*).
This text may bear some relation to *Peking Kanjur*, no. 2032 (vol. 46).

6) *Zla Gsang Thig-le'i Rgyud* (*Secret Moon Spot Tantra*).
1973 vol. 16, pp. 375-543 (6 chaps.).
Peking Kanjur, no. 111 (chapters not numbered). Tr. & rev. by Rin-chen-bzang-po.
See also *Blue Annals*, p. 102.

C. MIND (thugs)

7) *Ri-bo Rtsegs-pa'i Rgyud* (*Stacked Mountain Tantra*).
1973 vol. 6, pp. 323-349 (21 chaps.).
1982 vol. 19, pp. 181-213 (21 chaps.).
Vairocana Rgyud-'bum vol. 8, pp. 213-239 (21 chaps.).

8) *Rtse Gcig Bskul-ba'i Rgyud* (*Encouraging One-pointedness Tantra*).
1973 vol. 8, pp. 559-569 (13 chaps.).
1982 vol. 9, pp. 896-906 (13 chaps.).

9) *Gsang-ba 'Dus-pa'i Rgyud* (*Secret Gathering Tantra*).
1973 vol. 17, pp. 2-177 (18 chaps.). According to the colophon at the end of chapter 17, it was translated by Vimalamitra and Ka-ba Dpal-brtsegs. Acc. to colophon at end of chap. 18, tr. by Buddhaguhya and 'Brog-mi Dpal-ye-shes and later tr. by Rin-chen-bzang-po & Śraddhākaravarman.
This is the well known *Guhyasamāja Tantra* (*Peking* no. 81). It is the Fifteenth Assembly of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* according to Amoghavajra (see below).

D. QUALITY (yon-tan)

10) *Bdud-rtsi Chu Rlung-gi Rgyud* (*Delusion Juice Water Wind Tantra*).

11) *Nam-mkha' Mdzod-kyi Rgyud* (*Sky Treasury Tantra*).
1973 vol. 13, pp. 499-591 (18 chaps.).

12) *Dpal Mchog Dang-po'i Rgyud* (*First Supreme Lord Tantra*).
1973 vol. 17, pp. 177-470 (chapters not numbered). Colophon (p. 236): tr. by Buddhaguhya & Rma Rin-chen-mchog and later tr. by Śraddhākaravarman and Rin-chen-bzang-po. Colophon (p. 470): tr. by Mantrakalaśa and Zhi-ba-'od at Tho-ling.
1982 vol. 19, pp. 213-579.
Peking Kanjur, no. 119 (13 chaps.). Tr. Śraddhākaravarman & Rin-chen-bzang-po. NOTE: *Peking* no. 120 corresponds to pp. 236-470 of *1973*.
This is the Sixth Assembly of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (see below).

E. ACTIVITY ('phrin-las)

13) *Ki-la-ya Bcu-gnyis-kyi Rgyud* (*=Phur-pa Bcu-gnyis; Twelve Ritual Daggers Tantra*).

1973 vol. 19, pp. 2-199 (24 chaps.).
1982 vol. 19, pp. 785-1013.

14) *Sgron-ma 'Bar-ba'i Rgyud* (*Blazing Lamp Tantra*).
1982 vol. 12, pp. 467-491 (4 chaps.).

15) *Karma Ma-lye Sing Rgyud* (=*Las-kyi 'Phreng-ba; Karma Rosary Tantra*).
1973 vol. 17, pp. 470-627 (9 chaps.). Tr. by Dharmaśrīprabha, Vimalamitra and others. Text checked and established by Rma Ratna-abkra (=Rma Rin-chen-mchog?).
1982 vol. 19, pp. 579-785 (9 chaps.). Name of the establisher of the text given as Ratna-a-grags.

F. OTHER (gzhan)

16) *Don Thams-cad 'Jug Bsdud Thabs-kyi Zhags-pa'i Rgyud* (*"Mastering the Entry of All Benefits," The Method Snare Tantra*).
1973 vol. 19, pp. 395-422 (42 chaps.).
Peking Kanjur, no. 458 (41? chaps.). Detailed commentary, no. 4717 (42 chaps.).
Derge Kanjur, vol. 98 (Rnying Rgyud Kha-pa), pp. 597-621 (40 chaps.).

17) *Spyi'i Rgyud Dam-tshig Sa-ma-ya 'Bum Sde Bkod-pa'i Rgyud* (*"General Tantra," Words of Honor of a Hundred Thousand Types Collected Together Tantra*).
1973 vol. 12, pp. 560-626 (34 chaps.).

18) *Sgyu-'phrul Dra-ba Le'u Stong-phrag Brgya-pa'i Rgyud* (*Illusion Web Hundred Thousand Chapter Tantra*).
This section was divided into the *Eight Sections of Illusion* (*Sgyu-'phrul Sde Brgyad*) by Vimalamitra (Zur-'tsho, *Zur*, vol 1, p. 15.6 and also vol. 3, p. 251.5) as follows:

.1) *Sgyu-'phrul Gsang-ba'i Snying-po* (*Illusion, Heart of Secrets*).
1973 vol. 14, pp. 1-61 (22 chaps.).
1982 vol. 20, pp. 152-218 (22 chaps.). Tr. by Vimalamitra and Jñānakumāra.
Peking Kanjur, no. 455.
Derge Kanjur, vol, 98 (Rnying Rgyud Kha-pa), pp. 220-263 (22 chaps.).
This is the *Guhyagarbha Tantra*. Full Tibetan title is: *Dpal Gsang-ba Snying-po De-kho-na-nyid Nges-pa*.

.2) *'Jam-dpal Sgyu-'phrul Dra-ba Chen-mo (Great Mañjuśrī Illusion Web)*.

1973 vol. 15, pp. 97-118 (14 chaps.).
1982 vol. 21, pp. 326-349 (14 chaps.).
Peking Kanjur, no 2 (chapters not numbered). Has colophon title: Rnal-'byor-chen-po'i Rgyud *Sgyu-'phrul Dra-ba* Stong-phrag Bcu-drug-pa/ Ting-nge-'dzin Dra-ba'i Le'u las Phyung-ba/ *Bcom-ldan-'das 'Jam-dpal Ye-shes-sems-dpa'i Don Dam-pa'i Mtshan Yang-dag-par Brjod-pa/*. This means (in part), "Extracted from the Samādhi Web chapter of the 16,000 (verse) Mahā-yoga Tantra, *Illusion Web*." The parts from p. 121-5-8 to 124-2-3 are not found in either *1973* or *1982*. Tr. by Blo-gros-brtan-pa (=Dpang Lo, 1276-1342 A.D.) at Bsam-gtan-gling Hermitage. He calls himself Blo-brtan the Second. He acknowledges the famous translations by previous translators.

.3) *Sgyu-'phrul Brgyad-pa* (*Eight Chapter Illusion*).
1973 vol. 14, pp. 549-571 (8 chaps.).
1982 vol. 20, pp. 580-609 (8 chaps.).

.4) *Sgyu-'phrul Bla-ma* (*Lama Illusion*).
1973 vol. 14, pp. 572-638 (13 chaps.).
1982 vol. 19, pp. 337-417 (13 chaps.). Tr. by Vimalamitra and Jñāna-kumāra.
Peking Kanjur, no. 460.
Derge Kanjur, vol. 99 (Rnying Rgyud Ga-pa), pp. 1-68 (13 chaps.).

.5) *Le Lag* (=*Le Lhag; Appendix*).
1973 vol. 14, pp. 415-549 (33 chaps.).
1982 vol. 20, pp. 417-580 (33 chaps.).

.6) *Sgyu-'phrul Bzhi-bcu-pa* (*Forty Chapter Illusion*).
1973 vol. 14, pp. 317-415 (46 chaps.).
1982 vol. 20, pp. 218-327 (46 chaps.).

.7) *Lha-mo Sgyu-'phrul Dra-ma* (*Goddess Illusion Web*).
1973 vol. 15, pp. 2-96 (13 chaps.). Tr. by the Indian Teacher Līlavajra (Sgeg-pa'i-rdo-rje) and Rma Lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen-mchog.
1982 vol. 20, pp. 609-715 (13 chaps.). Same colophon information.
Peking Kanjur, no. 459.
Derge Kanjur, vol. 99 (Rnying Rgyud Ga-pa), pp. 1-68 (12 chaps.).

.8) *Sgyu-'phrul Brgya-bcu-pa* (i.e. *Brgyad-bcu-pa; Eighty Chapter Illusion Web*).
1973 vol. 14, pp. 67-317 (82 chaps.).
1982 vol. 21, pp. 2-326 (82 chaps.).
Peking Kanjur, no. 457.
Derge Kanjur, vol. 98 (Rnying Rgyud Kha-pa), pp. 396-596.
See also *Blue Annals*, p. 153.

There are several reasons why we should entertain the idea that these tantras, including the ones commonly understood to be New Tantras, actually existed in Tibetan translation before the Second Propagation (which began in the late 10th century). The first is simply that the tradition has it so. This puts the weight of proof squarely on the shoulders of those who would say they are *not* Old Tantras. The second reason is that a link has been discovered between the eighteen tantras of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* class known from a Chinese work (Taisho, no. 869) by Amoghavajra (705-774 A.D.) and the eighteen Mahā-yoga tantras of the Nyingma. Kenneth W. Eastman, whose research is, unfortunately, only available to me in the form of an abstract, says, " . . . I demonstrate the affinities of these two collections and conclude that they represent the same canon of religious texts."[17] It will be seen in notes included in the list above that I have only been able to establish three texts as shared by both collections (nos. 3, 9 & 12) and this based on a secondary source.[18] This needs more investigation.

That, of course, can only establish the contemporaneity of a classification of tantras in China which would make the existence of the actual tantras in Tibetan translation *seem* more probable. It definitely cannot prove their existence (some of the tantras in Amoghavajra's list were apparently never translated into Chinese). Therefore, the third and perhaps most important reason for increasing credence is the presence of no. 9, the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*; no. 18.2, the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*; and a commentary on no. 16, the *Upāyapāśa*, along with a few related Mahā-yoga texts and even two Ati-yoga works among the Stein documents from Tun Huang. The Stein manuscript of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* (Poussin, no. 438) is unfortunately missing both the title page and part of the colophon (due to damage of the final folio). What is significant is that it contains only seventeen chapters and the title given in the colophon does *not* contain the element, "*Guhyasamāja*" (*Gsang-ba 'Dus-pa*) but reads as follows:

> *De-bzhin-gshegs-pa Thams-cad-kyi Sku dang/ Gsung dang/ Thugs Gsang-zhing // Rab-tu Gsang-ba* zhes-bya-ba'i Rtog-pa Chen-po'i Rgyal-po.

Compare this to the colophon title following chapter 17 in the *Rnying-ma Rgyud-'bum* (1973, vol. 17, p. 152):

> *De-bzhin-gshegs-pa Thams-cad-kyi // Sku dang Gsung dang Thugs Gsang-zhing // Rab-tu Gsang-ba* zhes-bya-ba // Rtogs-pa Chen-po Rgyal-po.

Then compare both to the corresponding colophon title in the *Peking Kanjur* (vol. 3, p. 199-2-3):

De-bzhin-gshegs-pa Thams-cad-kyi Sku dang Gsung dang Thugs-kyi Gsang-chen Gsang-ba 'Dus-pa zhes-bya-ba'i Rtag-pa'i Rgyal-po Chen-po.

Since the Stein manuscript is not available to me for comparison, I am unable to draw any conclusions. A comparison of random parts of the text in the Nyingma version and the *Peking* version showed many variant readings in both wording and syntax. It remains to be seen if elsewhere, as in the colophon title, the Nyingma version is closer to the Stein manuscript than the *Peking*. This will be an important task. A *Guhyasamāja* commentary by *Līlavajra (see below) was translated by Smṛtijñānakīrti (*Peking*, no. 3356) and two other *Guhyasamāja* works by the same author are in the Tanjur (*Peking*, nos. 2276, 4791). Līlavajra is most famous for his commentaries on the *Guhyagarbha*, especially his word-for-word commentary called shortly, *Spar-khab*.

There are three examples of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* in the Stein collection. A cursory comparison of the two Nyingma versions with the translation in the *Peking Kanjur* (see 18.2 above) showed that the Nyingma preserve what must be an earlier translation. A comparison of the few passages from the Tun Huang version provided in the catalogue (Poussin, no. 112.2) yielded three places where the wording of the Tun Huang text differs significantly from the *Peking*. In these same passages, the Nyingma versions closely agree.

Table I

Peking Kanjur (vol. 1)	Tun Huang	*Rnying-ma Rgyud-'bum* (1982)
smon-lam ye-shes rgya-mtsho-ste// (p. 119-4-1)	bsam-pa'i ye-shes rgya-mtsho-ste//	bsam-pa'i ye-shes rgya-mtsho-ste//
thabs chen byed-pa chen-po-ste// (119-4-1)	mkhas-pa chen-po thams che-ba//	mkhas-pa chen-po thabs che-ba//
dpag-med sangs-rgyas-sprul-pa-yi//	sangs-rgyas-kyi sprul-pa'i sku//	sangs-rgyas kun-gyi sprul-pa'i sku//
sku ni bye-ba 'gyed-pa-po// (p. 121-3-2)	bye-ba dpag-myed 'byed-pa bo//	byed-pa dpag-med 'gyed-pa-po//

Note also that the Stein manuscripts, like the Nyingma versions, all omit the *Ye-shes-sems-dpa'i Don Dam-pa* (*Jñānasattvasya Paramārtha*) from the title. There is a commentary by Līlavajra translated by Smṛtijñānakīrti (*Peking*

Kanjur, no. 3356) and a commentary by Vimalamitra translated by Jñānakumāra (*Peking Kanjur*, no. 2941). A study of these commentaries should show what version of the text they had available to them. The absence of a large portion of the *Peking* text also shows that the Nyingma school is giving us a more primitive version of the tantra, since it appears that the Stein manuscript is also lacking this portion.

The only other lengthy tantric work in the Stein collection is a commentary on the *Upāyapāśa Padmamāla* (Poussin, no. 321), no. 16 above. It is a Mahāyoga tantra with many affinities (ex., the Samādhi and Reflection Mandalas) with the *Guhyagarbha* and *Guhyasamāja* tantras. This also should be investigated.

If I may only summarize the results of my research on the other tantras in my list which are in both the *Peking Kanjur* and *Rnying-ma Rgyud-'bum*, but lacking in the Stein collection (i.e., nos. 3, 6 & 12), it was only in the twenty-three chapter version of the *Buddhas' Equal Union Tantra* (no. 3) that there were found to be differences which seem to indicate a significant reworking of the text. Since the Nyingma version omits the revisor's statement, it is possible that the Nyingma preserve the unrevised translation of Smṛtijñānakīrti. But Smṛtijñānakīrti worked in Kham province during the early years of the Second Propagation, making this translation almost too late to be called a Nyingma tantra.[19]

If only to suggest another avenue for comparative research, one may easily see from the Stein manuscripts that the earlier Tibetans had a different system (or, rather, had no system) for transcribing Indian words. This is seen especially in book titles, mantras and personal names. I suspect, but cannot prove, that this state of affairs existed until after the time of Emperor Ralpacan's language standardization in the early ninth century. A good example is the name of the Old Tibetan translator Jñānakumāra, the first syllable of which is, intriguingly, spelled *Gnya'* (rather than Dznyā) in several Tanjur colophons (ex., *Peking*, nos. 4765, 4769). Compare the spelling of Jñānagarbha in Stein manuscripts: Gnya'-na-gar-ba.[20] By looking at the transcription of the long dhāraṇī near the end of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* in the Nyingma versions and comparing it with that of the *Peking* version, the contrast is unmistakable. A similar trend toward standardization is perhaps discernible in western scholarship on Tibet.

There are three Indian Masters who each wrote several commentarial works on the *Guhyagarbha* and who are all said to have been present in Tibet during the time of Emperor Khri srong lde brtsan (756-797 A.D.). Vimalamitra was a younger contemporary of Buddhaguhya and Līlavajra. Table II is offered as a tool for establishing contemporaneity of various Buddhist teachings. Note that the names of Buddhaguhya (Sangs-rgyas-sbas-pa) and Vimalamitra (Bye-ma-la-mu-dra)[21] occur in Stein manuscripts (Poussin, nos. 594, 688).

TABLE II

	Buddhaguhya	*Līlavajra*	*Vimalamitra*	Poussin
Vajravidāraṇa	3504, 3511 (tr.), 3750-3755		3505, 3506	410-416
Guhyasamāja		2773, 2776, 4791		438
Jambhala		426 (tr.), 4564		
Yamāntaka		2784, 2867		
Mañjuśrīnāma-saṅgīti		3356	2941	112.2. 381-382
Vajrasattva		2679		
Vajrapañjara		2453 (tr.)		
Prajñāpāramitā			160 (tr.), 5214, 5215 (tr.), 5217	93-126, 170-178
Uṣṇīṣavijāyā			3831	322, 348?
Subāhuparipṛcchā	3496			
Mahāvairocana Sūtra	3486, 3489 3490			
Durgatipari-śodhana	3451, 3461			439, 440
Dhyānottara Paṭala	3495			
Alchemy			464 (tr.)	437.1?
Other (not classified above)	3284, 3324, 3687, 4528, 4581, 5309, 5439, 5449, 5693	2413, 4545	5306, 5334 5917	
Guhyagarbha	4722, 4731, 4736, 4738, 4761, 4762	4718, 4738, 4741, 4744, 4745, 4748, 4763, 4768	456 (tr.), 4724, 4725, 4729, 4732, 4738, 4746, 4747, 4755, 4759, 4764, 4765, 4769, 4772, 4774 (tr.), 4776, 4777, 4780	

Here is a list of the Tibetan-born translators who worked with each of the three Indian Masters in order of frequency, according to the colophons to the *Peking* works contained in the chart.

BUDDHAGUHYA	LILAVAJRA	VIMALAMITRA
Mañjuśrīvarman (= 'Jam-dpal-go-cha)	Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan	Gnyags Jñānakumāra
Bran-ka Mu-ti (-ta)	Rdo-rje-grags	Rin-chen-sde
Dbas Mañjuśrī (= Mañjuśrīvarman?)		Surendrākaraprabha
		Nam-mkha'-skyong
		Ye-shes-snying-po
		Nam-mkha' (= Nam-mkha'-skyong?)

From the chart it is apparent that the most prolific Indian writers on the *Guhyagarbha* did not share very many other interests. It is important to note that the *Subāhuparipṛcchā*, which tradition calls a Yoga Tantra (*Peking*, no. 428), was translated into Chinese by Śubhākarasiṃha in 726 A.D.[22] He also translated the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* in 724 A.D.[23] The *Uṣṇīṣavijāyā* was several times translated into Chinese. It was translated into Tibetan by Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi and Ye-shes-sde (*Peking*, no. 198). It is certainly not inconceiveable that the other texts and deities were in existence in the last half of the ninth century when these three Indian Masters were apparently active. There is one additional Indian Master who wrote only one commentary, but a very long and important one. His name is *Sūryasiṃhaprabha[24] but he is an obscure figure, apparently a contemporary of Vimalamitra.

THE *GUHYAGARBHA TANTRA*

Now it should be possible to turn to the subject at hand with a somewhat firmer grasp of the historical and literary milieu with which the *Guhyagarbha* probably did enter Tibet. The colophon of one edition states that there were five 'translations' in all; three of them with the help of Indian Masters and two without. The first was by Buddhaguhya and Vairocana, the second by Padmasambhava and Gnyags Jñānakumāra, and the third by Vimalamitra and the two Tibetans Rma Rin-chen-mchog and Gnyags Jñānakumāra. There were two proofings of the translation after the Second Propagation by Thar Lo Nyi-ma-rgyal-mtshan[25] and the author of the *Blue Annals* 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal (1392-1481). The *Peking* and *Derge* editions give no translation information in their colophons. The *Rnying-ma Rgyud-'bum* (*1982*), as noted, gives only the names of Vimalamitra and Jñānakumāra. If asked, 'Gos Gzhon-nu-dpal would have shown you his own rather tattered Sanskrit manuscript; also, the Kashmiri Pundit Śākyaśrībhadra found a Sanskrit text of the tantra at Samye.[26]

Of the *Eight Sections of Illusion* (no. 18, my list), the *Guhyagarbha* (18.1) is by all accounts the most important, the other seven being mostly (excepting 18.2 and 18.7) variations on a theme, containing countless parallel passages. Rdo-rje-gzi-brjid[27] lists four sections of *Illusion Web*: 1) *Vajrasattva Illusion Web*, 2) *Vairocana Illusion Web*, 3) *Goddess Illusion Web* and 4) *Mañjuśrī Illusion Web*, but it is difficult to know which texts he had in mind.[28] Still, the name by which the *Guhyagarbha* is frequently named, *Illusion Web*, may remind us of the *Brahma Web Sutta* and, I think, with good reason. Lo-chen Dharmaśrī draws out the associations of the Tibetan words *Sgyu-'phrul Dra-ba*, as follows:[29]

1) *Illusion(s)* (sgyu-ma) are the elements that appear as illusion.
2) *Projecting* ('phrul-pa) are mental factors (phung-po/skandha).
3) *Web* (dra-ba) is the connectedness of cause and result.

And further:

1) *Illusion* is insight (shes-rab), objective Realm (Dbyings) and Voidness (Stong-pa-nyid).
2) *Projecting* is method (thabs), Awareness (Rig-pa) and Self-engendered Total Knowledge (Rang-byung-gi Ye-shes).

Here we find the classic polarity symbolism of Buddhist Tantra which signifies above all, "the web of the grasped and the grasper" (bzung 'dzin dra-ba),[30] the interrelatedness (the causal interdependence) of the objective and subjective spheres. In the *Le Lag* (no. 18.5) it says,[31]

> Everything that appears in the illusion is nothing other than the Realm of Dharmas . . . Since everything is the unsupported (mi-dmigs-pa) Suchness, it is all the Gesture (Phyag-rgya) of the indivisible Dharmakāya.

The Dharmakāya is the ultimate value of the subjective sphere[32] while the Realm of Dharmas, as the totality of knowables, represents the ultimate value of the objective sphere. In terms of the Path and Goal, the Dharmakāya represents the 'subject' devoid of the afflictive emotions due to the mistaken views of 'personhood' which falsely color the perception of objects. It is characterized by Total Knowledge (Ye-shes/Jñāna). The Realm of Dharmas represents the 'object' of Total Knowledge; the totality of the constituents of apparent existence in space and time, devoid of the false coloring, the obscurations due to knowables. Nondualistically conceived, Total Knowledge and Realm of Dharmas are the two aspects of the ultimate experience of contemplative union (zung-'jug).

As we turn to the first chapter, we must be aware that this tantra entitled *Secret Source of All Sūtras and Tantras*: *Suchness Uncompromisingly Pre-*

sented[33] represents itself to be nothing less. The first chapter is partially paraphrased here with many details omitted:

> At the time these words were spoken, the Completely Enlightened Buddha, the personification (bdag-nyid) of the Vajra Body, Speech and Mind of all Tathāgatas of the ten directions and the four times, was in None Higher ('Og-min), a Buddhafield without centre or circumference (mtha' dang dbus med-pa).[34] There, within a shining Total Knowledge Wheel of immeasurable land, was the Palace (Gzhal-yas-khang/ Vimāna) of Blazing Total Knowledge Jewels. Its extent was completely uncut in the ten directions. Because its qualities extended beyond measure, it became square. It was decorated with further projections of Total Knowledge Jewels. The pinnacle was completely encircled by the Total Knowledge of the Single Reality, all the mandalas of the Awakened Ones of the ten directions and four times in a state of undifferentiation . . . There was neither inside nor outside as everything was inside.
>
> Inside were five thrones. On a naked lotus and jewelled cushion sat a form without front or back, a face shining through everything, everywhere shining (kun-tu snang-ba) in the various bodies, speeches and minds.
>
> On the five thrones sat the Tathāgatas[35] Consciousness King, Mental Impression King, Cognition King, Reflexive Response King and Form King. They embraced all the Realm of Dharmas in a nondual way with their Queens Realm of Shining, Realm of Solidity, Realm of Pliability, Realm of Warmth and Realm of Vibration.
>
> Then the Great Awakeners Vajra Sight, Vajra Hearing, Vajra Smelling and Vajra Tasting with their Queens Visuals, Audials, Olfactions and Gustations; the Great Awakeners Vajra Seer, Vajra Hearer, Vajra Smeller and Vajra Taster with their Queens Past, Present, Present Continuative ('Happening') and Future;[36] the Great Suppressors Vajra Touch, Vajra Toucher, Vajra Tactiles and Vajra Touch Cognition with their Queens Not Eternal, Not Ended, Not Self and Not Classified—and others abided in an assemblage both impossible to verbalize and nondual. This nonduality was as that of a sesame seed and its oil . . . [37]

This chapter lays the groundwork for all the discussions contained in the remainder of the tantra. This is the literal meaning of the chapter title (gleng-gzhi/nidāna). Thus the text is self-consciously providing us with a tool for its interpretation. For my purposes, I would like to underline two major themes: first, the imagery of the Vimāna, the Palace of Blazing Total Knowledge Jew-

els; and, secondly, the interplay of the subjective Realm (Vajra Realm/ Vajradhātu) and objective Realm (Realm of Dharmas/Dharmadhātu) as embodied in the imagery of the Kings and Queens, respectively, within the Vimāna. The explication takes us back to the Cause Vehicle[38] of the Mahāyāna in the time Vajrayāna, the Result Vehicle of Mahāyāna, was developing.

THE PALACE AND WEB IN THE *AVATAṂSAKA SŪTRA*

The Avataṃsaka Sūtra (*Sangs-rgyas Phal-po-che*), a collection of separate sūtras, provides sufficient acreage for aeons of analysis. Parts of it are very old. We know that the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (*Sdong-pos Bkod-pa*), the most important for our purposes, was translated into Chinese in the T'ang dynasty, in its most extensive form, in 798 A.D;[39] the earliest translation was done in 420 A.D.[40] A Tibetan translation was done during the reign of Emperor Ralpacan (before 835 A.D.).[41] The Japanese scholars have already demonstrated the importance of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* as a source of inspiration for the most important tantras of the Shingon School, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* and the *Tattvasaṃgraha*. I have decided to see if this approach holds good also for the *Guhyagarbha*.

The *Gaṇḍavyūha* is a complex sūtra, but with a basic plot which may be simply outlined:[42]

1) The Buddha preaches to an assembly of Hearers and Bodhisattvas (including Mañjuśrī).
2) The main character Sudhana (nor-bzangs) goes to hear the preaching of the bodhisattva of Wisdom, Mañjuśrī, and conceives the Thought of Enlightenment (Byang-chub-sems/Bodhicitta).
3) Mañjuśrī tells him to seek teachers (dge-ba'i-bshes-gnyen/kalyāṇamitra) and so he sets out to visit one after another until he has studied with a total of fifty-two.
4) He meets the Bodhisattva of Love (Maitreya) at the Tower 'Heart Decorated with Ornaments Shining Everywhere' (Khang-pa Brtsegs-pa Rnam-par Snang-mdzad-kyi Rgyan-gyis Brgyan-pa'i Snying-po/ Vairocanavyūhālaṃkāragarbho Mahākūṭāgara).
5) Finally, Wisdom (Mañjuśrī) sends him to Total Good (Samantabhadra).

There are two places in the sūtra where the Palace image takes on a special significance. The first is at the very beginning: The Buddha entered into the samādhi called "Stretching Lion Samādhi" (Seng-ge Rnam-par Bsgyings-pa/ Siṃhavijṛmbhita) which was "inconceivable, because equal to the sky, with

ornaments shining everywhere in all creatures.''[43] No sooner had he settled into this samādhi than

> A multistoried Palace with great ornaments spread out without centre or circumference, and a victory banner of indestructible adamant (rdo-rje/vajra) completely ordered the grounds. A web of all the kings of jewels spread out everywhere filled with individual flowers of various jewels uniformly arranged.[44]

The Great Hearers (Nyan-thos-pa/Śrāvaka) Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Mahākāśyapa, etc., did not see the Buddha's power, blessing, miracles and perfectly pure land. These were the unimaginable objective spheres (yul) of the Bodhisattvas.[45] Even though they were present, they did not see these things because they are not action-spheres of Hearers, but of Enlightened Ones. They did not cultivate the Eye of Total Knowledge (i.e., they had wrong ideas about dharmas!). Their imaginations were small (dmigs-pa chung-ngu) and so they did not have the samādhi which would have allowed them to be entered by the vast blessings of the Buddha.[46] They are like the hungry ghosts (yi-dags/preta) who go thirsty even though they live by the river Ganges since they perceive the river as dry or filled with ashes . . . [47]

To say that the Hearers did not cultivate the Eye of Total Knowledge is the same as saying that they did not accumulate the knowledge (shes-pa) that would counteract the obscurations due to knowables (dharmas) and result in Total Knowledge (Ye-shes/Jñāna). Without this Total Knowledge, they were unable to see what the Bodhisattvas could see, the Realm of Dharmas here embodied in the imagery of the jewelled Palace and jewelled Web.

The 'mandala' of the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* was not yet a mandala just as the 'mantras' were not yet mantras and 'everywhere shining' was not yet Vairocana. The 'mandala' was the circle of light rays issuing from the Total Knowledge Body (Ye-shes-kyi Sku) of the Tathāgata which illumined all things.[48] 'Everywhere shining' was a quality of the Tower of Maitreya (=Realm of Dharmas) which was entered by Sudhana as the culmination of his search for truth. This is why the Chinese retitled the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, ''Entering the Realm of Dharmas.''[49] If 'everywhere shining' was not yet a particular Tathāgata, still, his special Total Knowledge is present in the Tower Episode,[50] the Total Knowledge of the Realm of Dharmas. Likewise, 'mantra' (sngags) appears only as an adjunct of medical practice.[51]

Clearly the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and the rest of the *Avataṃsaka* sūtras were *not yet* tantra, but they certainly could have provided inspiration. Consider the following statement in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* in the light of polarity symbolism:

> Oh noble son! Skillful Means (Upāya) is the father of Bodhisattvas. The Perfection of Insight (Prajñā) is the mother.[52]

and, on the following page,

> The mental factors (phung-po/skandha) are known as 'illusion.' . . . The objective spheres (khams/dhātu) and sense bases (skye-mched/āyatana) are understood as of the nature of the Realm of Dharmas.[53]

This does not by any means exhaust the many facets of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* that could have inspired the nascent Vajrayāna. I would also look here for the origin of the term 'vajra' itself. And just as intriguing is the idea that the different names for the Ādi-Buddha, Samantabhadra (Kun-tu-bzang-po) of the Nyingma tradition and Mahāvairocana of the Japanese tradition may both stem from this very text.[54] In connection with this, a few comments on some later East Asian traditions should not be out of order.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN EAST ASIA

The same Web imagery became extremely important to the Hua-yen followers of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* in China and their counterparts in Korea, the Hwaŏm School, and the Kegon School in Japan as an illustration of the interpenetration of universal and particular[55] which finds frequent expression in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, for example: "The Tathāgatas can see the reflection of the entire Realm of Dharmas in a single, extremely subtle mote."[56] At one point the Buddha displayed his miracles by plucking a hair from the Tathāgata's foot. The hair became a single web of light in the Realm of Dharmas in all directions.[57] The famous metaphor of the jewelled Web is too well known to treat here. I ask the reader to read about it in the new book by Thomas Cleary, *Entry into the Inconceivable*.[58]

The Hua-yen made the connection between Realm of Dharmas and interdependent origination explicit by forming a compound of the two terms. This compound may have been coined by the second Patriarch Chih-yen (602-668 A.D.).[59] But, as Robert Gimello points out, the interdependent origination was considered less as a "model of continuing bondage" and more as a liberating vision.[60] It is the objective sphere of the Buddha Himself which is available to all since it "shines everywhere."

The first Korean Patriarch of the Hwaŏm School, Ŭisang (625-702), already had laid out the Dharmadhātu in the form of a diagram called the "Ocean Seal" after the name of the samādhi experienced by Sudhana when he entered the Tower of Maitreya and perceived the interpenetration of universal and particular. This diagram was quite famous also in China. In the twenty-eighth verse of his auto-commentary on the Seal, he says,

> One adorns the Dharmadhātu,
> Like a real palace of jewels.[61]

The Hua-yen even developed, on the basis of the *Avataṃsaka*, a theory of the Path-conceived-as-web where every particular moment of the Path interpenetrates with the whole of the Path such that the Goal is present at the outset and the outset is present at the time of the Goal. The moments in the Path to Enlightenment exist only in a state of interdependence.[62] I suggest that such ideas must be behind the Vajrayāna's claim to bring results without accumulation causes, the reason why Vajrayāna is called the Result Vehicle ('Bras-bu'i Theg-pa).[63]

When the founder of Japanese Vajrayāna, Kūkai, returned from China in 806 A.D., he brought with him two charts; one of the Realm of Dharmas (the Garbhakośadhātu Maṇḍala, or Taizōkai) representing the objective sphere, and another of the Realm of Vajra (Vajradhātu or Kongōkai) representing the subjective sphere of Buddha.[64] At some point previous to this, perhaps hundreds of years earlier, the typical mandala had taken on the architectural features of the Palace[65] with moats full of threatening elements and graveyards; and four gateways, each with their turgid and fear-inspiring protective deities, contrasting with the peacefulness and pure colors of the inner sanctuary. With these roughly contemporary developments in East Asian Buddhism as a backdrop, we may return to the scene-setting chapter with a clearer idea of the Buddhist nature of the drama taking place in the *Guhyagarbha*

THE PALACE IN THE *GUHYAGARBHA* COMMENTARY BY SŪRYASIṂHAPRABHA[66]

Sūryasiṃhaprabha's commentary begins with the life of Gautama Buddha, explaining, incidentally, the reason why Mahāyoga tantras are able to speak of thirteen Bodhisattva Levels (Sa/Bhūmi). After the Buddha reached the tenth Level, he formed a Dharma Body (Chos Sku/Dharmakāya)—the eleventh Level, from which the Perfect Assets Body (Longs-spyod Rdzogs Sku/Sambhogakāya) and Manifestation Body (Sprul Sku/Nirmāṇakāya) made their descent—the twelfth and thirteenth Levels. The *Guhyagarbha* calls these: 11) Kun-tu-'od, 12) Padma-can, and 13) Yi-ge-'khor-lo-tshogs-chen.

Then he tells the story that, while the Buddha was practicing austerities at the Nairañjanā River, his Total Knowledge Body went to the Buddhafield None Higher ('Og-min) and emanated a Teacher to preach the classes of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* and other yogic Mahāyāna scriptures to Vajrapāṇi on the peak of Mount Meru (Ri-rab). Later, Vajrasattva came to the mansion (khangs-bzangs) of the sleeping King Indrabhūti in South India. King Indrabhūti woke from his dreams to see Vajrasattva standing there in a mandala of light. Vajrasattva gave him the secret initiations and taught him the secret tantras, including the *Guhyagarbha*.

Two hundred and eight years after the Buddha's enlightenment, Kukurāja, a monk and sādhaka (grub-pa-po), was preaching to his followers who were dogs by day and goddesses by night. He had the *Dpal 'Phreng Dam-pa*, the *Guhyasamāja*, and *Guhyagarbha* tantras in his possession, but did not understand them. He searched daily for their meaning and at night he wound himself in pure cloth and put himself in a jewelled box. Finally, he had a dream where his house became the house of Vajrasattva. He understood the tantras. When he woke up, Vajrasattva was no longer there, but he sat himself down to write his commentary on the *Dpal 'Phreng Dam-pa*. Now that he was able to teach Tantra, his problem was to find someone capable of receiving these teachings. So, he searched in a state of contemplation, finding King Indrabhūti. The history ends with the statement that, according to the writings of Orgyan, "Indrabhūti had died by that time. So he gave the teachings to his son Shākya-pu-ti." Shākya-pu-ti transmitted the teachings to his daughter 'Gu-na-de-byi (Guṇadevī?). "Of them it is also said, 'Their audience was a thousand and a thousand flew ('khor stong stong 'phur)'."

Then the commentator immediately moves on (p. 2-1-4) to the subject of the five Perfections (Phun-sum-tshogs-pa Lnga) that "go at the head of all tantras." The first two of these will become important for our later discussion. The five he lists are:

1) *Teacher* (Ston-pa).
2) *Place* (Gnas).
3) *Transmission* (Rgyud).
4) *Compiler* (Sdud-pa).
5) *Audience* ('Khor).

Other sources have different lists of the Five Perfections, most including the *Time* when the teachings were give. Here he discusses the Five Perfections according to the Lesser Vehicle, the Sūtra Vehicle (i.e. Mahāyāna); the Kriya, Yoga and Mahā-yoga Tantras. These are the identifications he gives for the Mahā-yoga Tantras:

1) *Teacher*—Total Good (Kun-tu-bzang-po).
2) *Place*—the two lands of None Higher, that of Nature (Rang-bzhin) and that of Awareness (Rig-pa).
3) *Transmission*—the first words of all the sūtras and tantras which guarantee their authentic transmission, the "Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye." (The opening words of the *Guhyagarbha* are a little different. He will discuss this point later.)
4) *Compiler*—Vajrapāṇi.
5) *Audience*—Samaya (sattva), Vajra (sattva), etc., Goddess, Supreme Bliss (Bde Mchog), etc.

Then, after a long discussion of the necessity (dgos-pa) for the tantra and the necessity for that necessity (dgos-pa'i yang dgos-pa), Sūryasiṃhaprabha

is at last ready to begin his explanation of the twenty-two chapters of the *Guhyagarbha* according to his guru's precepts (p. 3-2-3). He says that while other tantras begin with the question of a personage in the audience and then the Teacher's response, this is not so in the present case. Because, for the purpose of this tantra, the Teacher is absolutely indistinguishable from the opportunity (gnas-skabs, "moment" in the Path to Enlightenment) of the Nature (Rang-bzhin) Great Perfection, there is no distinction between questioner and Teacher.

Then the commentator runs through an outline of the twenty-two chapters and comes back to the beginning (p. 3-5-7) to explain why the opening words which show the Perfection of Transmission, are different from the usual. The *Guhyagarbha* begins, "At the time of the teaching of these words . . . " ('di skad bshad-pa'i dus-na) instead of the almost universal, "These words (were) at one time heard by me" ('di skad bdag-gis thos-pa dus gcig-na). He notes (4-1-3) that in this tantra there is no 'hearing' (thos-pa) because there is no 'self' (bdag) and goes on to explain that the use of these words would have violated the spirit of the tantra, but further, that we should accept this explanation as only the finger pointing at the moon and not the moon itself (4-2-2). This may be an important part of the elephant, but such small statements of the *Guhyagarbha* are only indicators of the real 'elephant' it is trying to present us with in a fuller picture—the Nature Great Perfection in which all the dharmas are from the very beginning buddhaized. He then says that *all* of the other words that *are* included in the opening statement are also, in the ultimate analysis, incompatible with the teachings of the tantra.

But then he re-analyzes the same words according to their deep significance (4-3-8). The original Sanskrit word *Evaṃ*, which is the first word of all sūtras and tantras, is divided into two syllables, *E* and *Vaṃ*:

> *E* = triangle/place of origin of the Dharma/dharmas (chos)/the womb of the Total Good Female (Kun-tu-bzang-mo)/the lotus of the mother.
> *Vaṃ* = the nature of the Vajra Lord Total Good.[67]

These are further identified with the *Place* of the teaching and the *Teacher* respectively, the first two of the Five Perfections previously discussed. Then the remaining parts of the opening statement are likewise identified with the last three Perfections.

The *Teacher*, Samantabhadra, is discussed (pp. 5-1 to 6-1). He is identified with the Vajra Body, Speech and Mind of all the Tathāgatas of all time and space together with the bodies, speeches and minds of all creatures of all time and space. He is equivalent to the Dharmakāya (5-1-2, ff.).[68] Līlavajra gives very interesting explanation of Total Good in his commentary to the words which open the second chapter of the *Guhyagarbha*:

> BHAGAVAN PRODUCER VAJRA MIND TOTAL GOOD . . . [69]
> The MIND (yid) is the owner of both temporal conceptualizing and Total Knowledge and is therefore the PRODUCER (byed-pa-po) of both samsara and nirvana. Because completely critical people will see this and assert that the mind is itself a product of causes and conditioning, it is further specified as VAJRA mind; 'Vajra' because what is not compounded is neither produced nor destroyed. Since the Thatness (De-nyid) appears by itself without looking for it, it is all just Total Knowledge and there is nothing that is considered to be expendible. That is why it is called TOTAL GOOD.[70]

Those words from the second chapter are immediately followed by a description of the feminine counterpart of Total Good:

> . . . ENTERED INTO THE QUEEN PRODUCTS DHARMAS TOTAL GOOD WOMAN.[71]

But Sūryasiṃhaprabha's commentary continues (p. 6-2-7):

> When it says, '(the Teacher) dwells in the land of None Higher which is without centre or circumference,' it is speaking primarily on the extent of the objective sphere Realm of Dharmas.[72]

The actuality of the Dharmadhātu is what is meant by 'Palace': "Because it is the actuality of the Realm of Dharmas, it is called 'Palace.' " (11-5-7)[73] "Because the Dharmaity is by nature pure, so all the special ornaments, like shapes placed near to a crystal, are unobscured and clear." (12-2-3)[74] The Palace is "without inside or outside since all is inside," says the first chapter of the *Guhyagarbha*. Sūryasiṃhaprabha explains this with the simile of the crystal and the images reflected within it (8-1-1).

This should be sufficient to establish the basic messages behind the imagery. The other details of the symbolism, the meaning of the four doors, etc., I have glossed over here and in my paraphrase translation. These architectural symbols have already been dealt with elsewhere.[75] But before leaving the commentary, I would like to mention a few points relevant to my earlier discussions. In the first section of the commentary (as summarized above) only five other tantras are directly cited. They are: 1) The *Tattvasaṃgraha*, a Yoga Tantra, on p. 4-4-8, etc. 2) The *Mahāvairo-canābhisaṃbodhi*, which this text calls an Ubhaya (Gnyi-ga) Tantra, on pp. 5-3-6. 8-1-4, etc. 3) The *Byi-ma-ha-dza-la Tantra* which I cannot yet identify, pp. 10-1-7, 11-2-1. 4) The *Guhyasamāja*, a Mahā-yoga Tantra, p. 6-4-5. I would also like to point out his treatment of the eighteen dhātus (p. 7-1-6) and of the sixty-two heretical views (p. 11-2-2) which, as we know, originated in the *Brahma Web Sutta*.

'FIRST WORDS' AND A LATER DEVELOPMENT IN CENTRAL ASIA

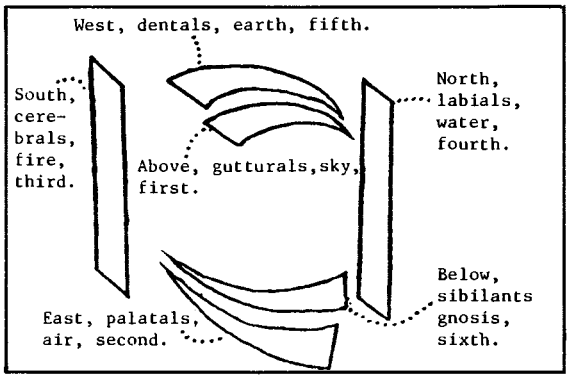
Just as the most important word of the Hebrew scriptures for the medieval Kabbalist was the very first word of *Genesis*, so, I suggest, was the first word of the sūtras considered in the very beginning of Vajrayāna. By unlocking the mysteries of this single word, it was believed that all the words of the revealed scripture would yield their hidden messages. In turn, all these hidden messages could be reintegrated back into the first word because, in an arational but still somehow sensible manner, the revealed scripture which contained all that it was necessary to know for the believer was identified with the universe in such a way that each and every letter of the scripture represented something particular in the universe, something that had to do with a special quality of the letter itself; the way it reverberated when spoken, a numerical value assigned to it, the associations of the words in which the letter was contained, etc. This is the magical power of sound as it is religiously, and not just literarily or magically conceived. It supports, affirms or underlies, however one may wish to phrase it, the entire realm of religious thought in each respective culture—Taoist, Islamic, Christian, Judaic, etc.—where it has taken root. To some degree this feeling is still present when we read or hear poetry. We need to experience this attitude a little in order to appreciate what is happening in the figure reproduced below.

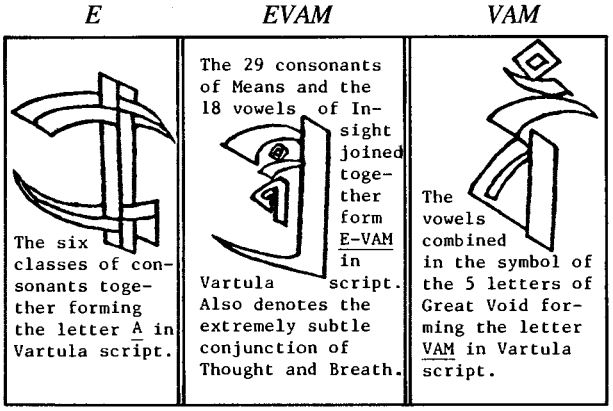
The diagram is taken from the late Gelukpa author Klong-rdol Bla-ma (1719-1794).[76] It is meant to illustrate the union of *E* as the Place of the teaching with *Vaṃ*, the Teacher. Its ultimate literary source is a passage in the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*,[77] a passage which was alluded to in the first nine syllables of the second verse of the Central Asian *Kālacakra Tantra*. This is made clear by the author of the *Vimalaprabhā*[78] and all subsequent *Kālacakra* commentators. A charting of all the various correspondences integrated in the figure would be subject for a full-blown dissertation on the truly astounding cosmology presented in the *Kālacakra*, something scholars and the world at large have rarely found the courage to face, but which could enormously illumine our knowledge of, for instance, the history of science. The same sort of integration lies behind the Shingon's use of the letters *A* and *Vaṃ* in their two mandalas when they are represented as the Dharma-mandalas, where these letters represent Mahāvairocana in the objective and subjective spheres respectively.[79]

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR OTHER APPROACHES

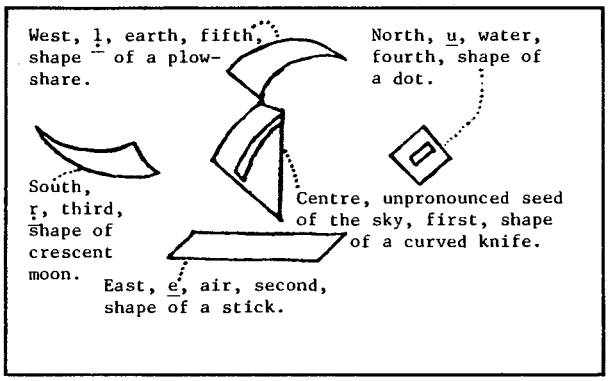
With all that said and done, it seems that I have said and done very little. One may receive the impression that Mahāyāna and its younger brother Vajrayāna are essentially conservative entities. If so, that is exactly what I had

The Six Empty Spot Letters
(The Place of the Teaching)





The Five Letters of the Great Void
(The Buddha as Teacher)



hoped to say in answer to the scholars with visions of yoginis dancing in their heads or with suspicions of alien religious ideas creeping in. I don't deny the existence of sexuality and heterodoxy in Buddhist tantras. I only think that these aspects that are likely to provoke prurient and scholastic interest have so far blinded western science to the vital *Buddhist* issues that inspired Vajrayāna's emergence. If I have answered few of the pressing concerns of historically-minded scholars, I have still tried carefully to keep the idea of historical development in mind. If I have not managed to formulate a clear typology of Realm of Dharmas, etc., for the literary critics, it is partly because of the 'progressive' nature of the sources. For example, in the higher reaches of Rdzogs-chen thought, the Dharmadhātu loses its relation to the objective sphere and becomes absolutely synonymous with Bodhicitta.[80]

I believe this general approach will also throw light on that most dazzlingly transcendent of all Nyingma tantras, the *All Making King (Kun Byed Rgyal-po)*.[81] It is true that All Making (Kun Byed) is an epithet of Brahma; not the Brahma of the Hindus, however, but rather the Brahma of the cosmic trap in the *Brahma Web Sutta*, a trap which, it must be remembered, can at the same time be a liberating vision—the Buddha's own vision, in fact. To the sophisticated and uncompromisingly presented (nges don) vision of Rdzogs-chen, the mistaken appearances ('khrul snang) of the world and the unmistaken appearance which is beyond the world (mya-ngan-las-'das) are indistinguishable in terms of the substantiality (ngo-bo-nyid) of their respective dharmas.[82] This is the truly strange realm of thought in which the *All Making King*, the *Awareness Self-dawned (Rig-pa Rang-shar)* and other Ati-yoga tantras move. It is a context in which serious assertion of the existence of a creator god has been *a priori* ruled out. But it is, after all, not so far removed from the realm of thought of the *Vajra Cutter Sūtra*, "Void is form. Form itself is void."

If I may close with the questions that opened the present inquiries, I think that a study of the development of the thirteen (and sixteen) Bodhisattva Levels and the Nine Vehicle concept will further refine our sense of the *Guhyagarbha*'s place in Buddhist history. Both the Levels and the Vehicles have gradually increased in number over time. The case of the Vehicles is most easily traced. The *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* and most of the Mahāyāna sūtras have three. The *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* hints at five and its Hua-yen followers definitely listed five. The *Guhyagarbha* has five and its commentarial literature quickly developed nine. The Bonpo have nine. The Taoist alchemists in the Sung period spoke of thirteen. In the latter four cases, the final and ultimate Vehicle was called the Supreme Single Vehicle, either directly or indirectly going back to the *Lotus Sutra* for the inspiration.[83] This is the sort of thing I would consider pressing research if we are ever to be able to feel historical in the face of the tantras.

NOTES

1. Poussin, *Catalogue* (p. 194, no. 619). See Tibetan text *A*.

2. Perhaps the most clear statement may be found in Kiyoga, *Gedatsukai* (pp. 52-55). But see also Takasaki, 'Dharmatā' (p. 914 ff., 918); Kawada, 'Dharmadhātu' (p. 863); Grosnick, 'The Understanding of "Dhātu"' (p.31).

3. This has already been done in the works cited in note 2.

4. For some works on the *Brahma Jāla*, see the index to Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. A summary of the sutta by Bandula Jayawardhana may be found in Malalesekera (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* (vol. 3, pp. 310-311). For my summary I have relied on both the English translation in Bennett, *Long Discourses* (vol. 1, pp. 13, 46 ff.) and the Tibetan translation in the Kanjur (*Peking*, vol. 40, no. 1021) called the *Tshangs-pa'i Dra-ba'i Mdo*. The East Asian scholars seem to be confused as to the origins of this sutta, some saying it is a Chinese product of the fourth century. Perhaps the Chinese and Japanese versions differ significantly from the Pāli, but I have been able to find no clear statement on this point. The Tibetan translation seems identical to the Pāli version. See also de Groot, 'The Code of the Mahāyāna in China'; Warder, *Indian Buddhism* (pp. 141-150); Weller, 'Das Brahmajālasūtra.'

5. The full text is given in Tibetan text *B* (*Peking*, vol. 40, no. 1021, p. 287-2-1 ff.).

6. This is the upper level within the Second Dhyāna (Bsam-gtan Gnyis-pa) within the Form Realm (Gzugs-kyi Khams) in the cosmology universal to Buddhists. Another sutta in the *Dīgha Nikāya* tells how all the beings in this world period descended from the Clear Light Realm and how society subsequently evolved (Warder, *Indian Buddhism* p. 158 ff.).

7. See Sopa, *Practice & Theory* (pp. 118, 127) where this seems to be a special tenet of the Cittamātrins and Yogācārya-svātantrikas. The Prasaṅga approach, however, differs only in subtle details (*ibid.*, p. 140 ff.). and these statements may, therefore, be considered universal to Mahāyāna.

8. Kawada, 'Dharmadhātu' (p. 865).

9. For these, see Buddhaghosa, *Path of Purification* (p. 552); Conze, *Buddhist Thought* (p. 95); Stcherbatsky, *The Central Conception* (p. 7 ff.); Takasaki, 'Dharmatā' (p. 916 ff.); Kawada, 'Dharmadhātu' (p. 859 ff.); O'Brien, 'A Chapter on Reality' (pp. 245-6, notes).

10. In the preceding note, especially Kawada and Takasaki. O'Brien (*op. cit.*, p. 247, note) insists on two meanings of 'Dharmadhātu.' One is the plurality of dharmas; the other, an equivalent of Suchness (Tathatā). This apparent ambiguity needs to be kept in mind, but I suggest that these two meanings are frequently merged. A total picture of the dharmas may be equivalent to the apprehension of Suchness, Voidness, Dharmatā, etc.

11. A work by Herbert Guenther on the *Guhyagarbha* is in press at the time of writing. Outside the Tibetan language, little scholarship on the subject has been done, but see especially Ruegg, *Life of Bu-ston* (p. 68) and Karmay, 'A Discussion' (p. 148). Csoma de Kőrös was, incidentally, the first European to recognize the existence of this tantra.

12. For example, see 'Jam-dpal-dgyes-pa'i-rdo-rje, "*Gsang* 'Grel *Phyogs Bcu'i Mun Sel*-gyi Spyi Don: 'Od-gsal Snying-po"' (p. 214). This is a subcommentary to one of the three *Guhyagarbha* commentaries by Klong-chen-pa. For Vehicles, see Tsuda, 'Classification of Tantras' and Zhe-chen Padma-rnam-rgyal, *Snga-'gyur Theg Dgu'i Tshogs Bshad*. The fact that Mahā, Anu-, and Ati-yoga were considered sub-classifications of Yoga by various teachers is discussed in the early commentary by Rong-zom-pa, *Rgyud Rgyal . . .* (p. 58.2 ff.). My outline omits the mysterious *Yang-ti* and *Spyi-ti* categories of Ati-yoga.

13. The story of how the teaching of the Mahā-yoga tantras became known among men: The Lord of Ceylon (Lang-ka'i Dbang-po) wrote the words of the tantras with lapis lazuli ink on golden paper. The king of a kingdom neighboring the kingdom of Za-hor called A-par-tha-mu (Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 944) whose name was King Dza had seven

dreams. In the fifth dream, a transparent boy made of dark jewels without inside or outside fell on the top of his palace like a meteor depositing many volumes of books written with lapis lazuli on gold. In the sixth, he dreamed that countless gods, goddesses, Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and sages praised the volumes and circumambulated them. In the seventh, he received a prophecy from the clouds promising that he would receive the teachings contained in the books. After telling others of his dreams, he went to the top of his palace and found the books exactly as they had appeared in his dreams. (Paraphrased from Zur-'tsho, *Zur*, vol. 1, pp. 8-12). The human lineage then had both a 'close' (nye) and 'distant' (ring) transmission. *Close transmission*: Kukurāja (Ku-ku-ra-tsa), King Indrabhūti (In-dra-bu-ti), Sing-nga Uparāja (U-pa-ra-tsa), his daughter Gomasala (Mgo-ma-sa-la), Buddhaguhya and, finally, Vimalamitra. *Distant transmission*: Gomasala (above), Śākyasūtrin (Shakya-su-tri), Thub-pa Dza-ha-shi, Vajrahāsa (Rdo-rje-gzhad-pa), Hūṃkara (Hūṃ-ka-ra), Hūṃkaravajra (Hūṃ-mdzad-rdo-rje), Brahmin Sūrya (Nyi-ma), Tig-na-gar-pa, Buddhaguhya and, finally, Vimalamitra (Zur-'tsho, *Zur*,vol. 1, p. 15). This should be compared to the variant Mahā-yoga lineages found in Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho, *Thob-yig* (vol. 2, pp. 363.3 ff., 374). The story of how Kukurāja was invited by King Indrabhūti (King Dza) to come and give the initiation relevant to the Mahā-yoga texts has been told by Kanaoka in the article, 'Kukurāja.' He extracts from the *Prajñāpāramitā* commentary by Jñānamitra (early 9th century? See Padma-dkar-po, "Chos-'byung", p. 313.2; Khetsun Sangpo, *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 900, 906 ff.) a story of how Kukurāja initiated the King of Za-hor into the teachings of the *Buddhasamāyoga Tantra* (no. 3 on my list below) and the other Mahā-yoga tantras. Kanaoka makes the mistake of confusing Kukurāja (author of *Peking*, nos. 2536-2543, all *Buddhasamāyoga* texts) with Kukkuripāda (Ku-ku-ri-pa) who taught to Marpa the *Great Illusion (Mahāmāyā) Tantra* (author of *Peking*, nos. 2499-2503 and perhaps also 3233-3234). This *Great Illusion Tantra*, like the *Hevajra* and *Kālacakra* tantras, is strictly a Second Propagation phenomenon.

Tārānātha reports that the *Guhyasamāja*, *Buddhasamāyoga* and *Māyājāla* tantras appeared in the period of the Brahmin Rāhulabhadra (Sgra-gcan-'dzin-bzang-po). See Tārānātha, *History of Buddhism* (pp. 102-3); Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary* (vol. 1, 249-250, 550-1, 571-2; vol. 3, pp. 26-7). There are several teachers by the name Rāhulabhadra, one of the others belonging to the Śūdra caste. If, as it seems, this Rāhulabhadra is the one who taught Nāgārjuna (Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, pp. 374-5; *Blue Annals*, pp. 35, 344), then Tārānātha is claiming an early date indeed for these tantras!

14. See Zur-'tsho Dkon-mchog-tshul-khrims, "Lo-rgyus Mu-tig Phren-ba" (*Zur*, vol. 1, p. 14). A history written in 1557 gives a somewhat varying list (Mkhyen-rab-rgya-mtsho, *Sangs-rgyas Bstan-pa'i Chos-'byung*, pp. 38-9,97 ff.) which is reflected in *Crystal Mirror* (vol. 5, pp. 198-9). The contents do not essentially differ. The list given by Klong-chen-pa in his history written in 1362 is very close to mine. See Klong-chen-pa, *Chos-'byung* (vol. 1, pp. 378-9). The even earlier history by Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer (1124-1192), the *Chos-'byung Me-tog Snying-po Sbrang-rtsi'i Bcud* (p. 163.4), gives a similar list. See also Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary* (vol.1, p. 954).

15. Kanaoka (p. 467). See also note 13, above.

16. *Peking Kanjur* (vol. 77, no. 3471).

17. Eastman, 'The Eighteen Tantras' (p. 96).

18. See Sakai, 'Ādi-Buddha' in Malalasekera (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* (vol. 1, p. 216).

19. See Khang-dkar Tshul-khrims-skal-bzang, *Byams Zhus Le'u'i 'Phros Don* (pp. 38-40), a recent work with footnotes. Therein the Tun Huang text of the *Guhyasamāja* is discussed. Mr. Khang-dkar concludes that we should now consider it an "Old Translation," defining that as any translation done up to and including the translating activities of Smṛtijñānakīrti. This is the definition I have settled for in this paper. It should be remembered that the only point of controversy is

the validity of the Nyingma Inner Method Tantras (i.e., the Mahā-, Anu- and Ati-yoga Tantras) and not the Old Translation of sūtras and Outer Capability Tantras which were all accepted into the Kanjur. Within the 250 year period in which Old Tantra translations could have been going on, it will be very difficult to accurately determine what happened when.

20. It was suggested by Professor D. Seyfort Ruegg of Seattle (Bloomington: April, 1984) that this transcription may reflect an actual Middle Indian pronunciation. If so, the development may be described as a shift away from phonetic representation toward true transliteration. For Gnya'-na-gar-ba, see Yamaguchi, *A Catalogue* (pt. 2, p. 75). See also the peculiar spellings of Vimalamitra's name in the following note.

21. See Walter, "The Role of Alchemy" (p. 188, no. 46), where this eccentric spelling for Vimalamitra's name is discussed. Walter has translated parts of an alchemical cycle connected with the Mahā-yoga tantra denoted by no. 10 of my list—which is most likely the tantra found in *Rnying-ma Rgyud-'bum* (*1973*, vol. 18, pp. 449-567). See *Peking* (no. 464; vol. 10, pp. 167-2 to 174-5) for the work on which his study is based. I believe that the form of the name of Vimalamitra found in the Tun Huang document as well as another spelling, Ba-ye-ma-la-mu-tra, represent native Tibetan 'readings' of the name, probable dating from early times. Both forms are discussed in a recent Nyingma history by Ngag-dbang-blo-gros (*Chos-'byung Ngo-mtshar Gtam-gyi Rol Mtsho*, vol. 1, p. 239.7 ff.). There are often said to have been an earlier and a later Vimalamitra in Tibet and there was also one who probably never went to Tibet (Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 472).

22. Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism* (p. 318).

23. Matsunaga, 'A History of Tantric' (p. 177).

24. Roerich, *Blue Annals* (pp. 108, 158). See below.

25. A teacher of Bu-ston, but see Roerich, *Blue Annals* (p. 104).

26. Roerich, *ibid.* (pp. 103-4).

27. Rdo-rje-gzi-brjid is the name with which Klong-chen-pa signed all of his *Guhyagarbha* works. See Rdo-rje-gzi-brjid, "*Dpal Gsang-ba'i Snying-po De-kho-na-nyid Nges-pa'i Rgyud*-kyi 'Grel-pa: Phyogs Bcu'i Mun-pa Thams-cad Rnam-par Sel-ba" (p.10). Tibetan text *C*. An index/history to the *Rnying-ma Rgyud-'bum* by 'Gyur-med-tshe-dbang-mchog-grub of Kaḥ-thog written in 1797 quotes from the *Guhyasamāja* commentary by the Indian teacher Viśvamitra in which the first and other chapters of the *Guhyagarbha*, are cited. This *Guhyasamāja* commentary has long been put forward by Nyingma apologists as a proof of the existence of the *Guhyagarbha* in India. This needs investigation. See *Rnying-ma Rgyud-'bum* (*1973*, vol. 18, p. 448.1); Roerich, *Blue Annals* (p. 103).

28. I would provisionally identify Klong-chen-pa's four sections as follows: 1) No. 18.1 on my list (and possibly others). 2) *Peking*, no. 102. 3) no. 18.6 on my list. 4) no. 18.2 on my list. The words "Illusion Web Tantras" occur in a Stein ms. (Poussin, no. 332). It is also the name of a Vairocana Tantra (*Peking*, no. 102, commentary—no. 3336) and what appears to be a Theravāda sutta (*Peking*, no. 954). In the text of the just mentioned Vairocana Tantra, Vairocana is addressed as "Illusion Web" (Peking, vol. 4, p. 149-4-8). Samantabhadra is already cast in the role of Ādi Buddha (p. 150-1-2) even though this ought to be a tantra of the Carya or Yoga classes. "Illusion Web" appears in the long list of epithets of Mañjuśrī in the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* (Raghu Vira, ed., *Kālacakra-Tantra and Other Texts*, pt. 1, p. 34, verse 161).

29. Lo-chen Dharmaśrī, "*Dpal Gsang-ba'i Snying-po De-kho-na-nyid Nges-pa'i Rgyud*-kyi 'Grel-pa: Gsang-bdag Dgongs Rgyan" (p. 13). Tibetan texts *D* and *E*.

30. See Buddhaguhya's work *Lam Rnam-par Bkod-pa* (Peking, no. 4736; vol. 83, p. 106-2-5). According to Rong-zom-pa, *Rgyud Rgyal . . .* (p. 38.3), the view which identifies the objective and subjective spheres as the external and internal pratītyasamutpāda belongs to the

Yogacarins and the yoga practitioners among the Madhyāmika followers (rnal-'byor sbyor-ba'i Dbu-ma-pa-dag).

31. *Rnying-ma Rgyud-'bum* (*1982*, vol. 20, p. 486.7). Tibetan text *F*.

32. Takasaki, 'Dharmatā' (p. 910).

33. This rendering is according to the explanation of Sūryasiṃhaprabha (*Peking*, no. 4719; vol. 83, pp. 2-5-1 ff.).

34. Compare the use of this phrase in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* in citation below. The phrase "Realm of Dharmas without centre or circumference" occurs many times in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (for example, *Derge Kanjur*, vol. 38, =Phal-chen Nga-pa, p. 582.2).

35. All the commentaries identify the "deities" with well known Buddhist deities. For example, the five Tathāgatas are the usual five Tathāgatas; the "Great Awakeners Vajra Sight," etc., are Kṣitigarbha, Akāśagarbha, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi, and so on.

36. I suspect that these unusual "four times" are derived from a phrase frequently employed in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* to express the usual idea of "three times." See, for example, *Derge Kanjur* (vol. 38, =Phal-chen Nga-pa, p. 623.2): 'das-pa dang ma-byon-pa dang/ da-ltar byung-ba'i sangs-rgyas thams-cad kyang 'di-las byung-ngo/.

37. The same simile is used in an identical context in the opening chapter of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* (*Peking*, no. 81) and also in the opening chapter of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* (Tsuda, 'A Critical Tantrism', p. 198).

38. Rgyu'i Theg-pa as contrasted to 'Bras-bu'i Theg-pa, means the sūtra approach of accumulating causes in order to get the desired result. The Diamond Vehicle claims to obtain results through the results themselves.

39. Kao, *'Avataṃsaka Sūtra'* (p.436).

40. *Ibid.* (p. 435).

41. Kao, *'Avataṃsaka Sūtra'* (p.437). But note that Padma-'phrin-las (*Bka'-ma Mdo Dbang*, p. 39.6) says that it was translated by Mkhan-po Bodhisattva (Śāntirakṣita) and Ye-shes-sde. This would place it in the reign of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan. Students of Hua-yen will find the editor's colophon by the monk Bkra-shis-dbang-phyug found at the end of the version in the *Derge Kanjur* (vol. 38, =Phal-chen Nga-pa, pp. 723-5) very interesting. He notes that different Tibetan translations have different numbers of volumes (bam-po). Some tell of a 130 volume version. The *Tshal-pa Kanjur* version has 115. The *Ldan-dkar-ma* catalogue gives 127. He says that Surendrabodhi and Vairocanarakṣita used the Chinese versions of Byang-chub-bzang-po (?Buddhabhadra?, lived 359-429) and Dga'-ba (?Śīkṣānanda?, lived 652-710). He mentions a Hwa-shang Thu-thu-zhun whom we ought to identify as the first Hua-yen Patriarch Tu Shun (558-640) and notes that one Dbus-pa Sangs-rgyas-'bum (Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, p. 502) studied the *Avataṃsaka* with the Hwa-shang Gying-ju (?). Then he gives a partial lineage for the Indian transmission saying that Ba-ri- Lo-tsā-ba studied it with Rdo-rje-gdan-pa (Vajrāsanapāda). Mchims Brtson-seng and Rje-btsun Sa-skya-pa Chen-po also received the Indian transmission. He says that he based his own edition on the *Tshal-pa Kanjur*, noting that most copies are full of archaisms (brda-rnying) and many times there are old and new words mixed together. Finally, note that parts of the Tibetan *Avataṃsaka* are in the Stein collection (Poussin, nos. 130-148, etc.).

42. There are clear summaries in Cleary, *Entry into the Inconceiveable* (pp. 4 ff..) and Warder, *Indian Buddhism* (pp. 424-429).

43. *Derge Kanjur* (vol. 37, =Phal-chen Ga-pa, p. 556). Tibetan text *G*.

44. *Ibid.* (p. 556). Tibetan text *H*.

45. *Ibid.* (p. 579).

46. *Ibid.* (p. 582).

47. *Ibid.* (p. 584).

48. *Ibid.* (pp. 185-6).

49. Kao, *'Avataṃsaka Sūtra'* (p. 435).

50. *Derge Kanjur* (vol. 38, =Phal-chen Nga-pa, p. 616.7). "He entered into the Total Knowledge of the Realm of Dharmas." Tibetan text *I*.

51. *Derge Kanjur* (vol. 37, =Phal-chen Ga-pa, p. 191; vol.38, =Phal-chen Nga-pa, p. 550).

52. *Peking* (vol. 26, p. 313-4-4). See also Cleary, *Entry* (pp. 7-8). Tibetan text *J*.

53. *Peking* (vol. 26, p. 313-5). For full citation, see Tibetan text *K*.

54. See Kabese, 'Ādi-Buddha' (p. 219) for a discussion. Tibetologists will be inclined to view his explanations as a little too Japanocentric.

55. Gimello, 'The Doctrine' (p. 10).

56. *Derge Kanjur* (vol. 37, =Phal-chen Ga-pa, p. 559). Tibetan text *L*.

57. *Derge Kanjur* (vol. 37, =Phal-chen Ga-pa, p. 106.6-.7).

58. Especially pp. 66-68. Perhaps no one has explained the general conceptions of Hua-yen in more elegant English than Francis H. Cook, *Hua-yen Buddhism*.

59. Gimello, 'The Doctrine' (p. 15).

60. *Ibid.* (p. 17).

61. Odin, *Process Metaphysics* (p. xx). This book is full of spectacular insights on the subjects at hand. It contains a reproduction of the "Ocean Seal."

62. *Ibid.* (p. 190).

63. Note 34, above.

64. Kiyota, *Gedatsukai* (pp. 61, 65).

65. Wayman, 'The Symbolism of the Maṇḍala-Palace.'

66. *Peking* (no. 83; vol. 83, pp. 1-1-1 to 70-3-7). The title is *Dpal Gsang-ba'i Snying-po De-kho-na-nyid Nges-pa Rgya-cher Bshad-pa'i 'Grel-pa*. The author's name is given as Nyi-ma'i-seng-ge'i-'od. See Roerich, *Blue Annals* (pp. 108, 158) where his name is given in the forms Nyi-'od-seng-ge and Nyi-ma'i-'od-kyi-seng-ge. Unless otherwise noted, the page & line numbers given in parentheses in this section refer to Sūryasiṃhaprabha's commentary. The name also appears as Nyi-'od-seng-ge in *Rnying-ma Rgyud-'bum* (*1973*, vol. 36, p. 363.3) and Lo-chen Dharmaśrī, *Collected Works* (vol. 3, p. 215.3). For want of a better theory, I would identify this Sūryasiṃhaprabha with the Sūryaprabha who authored Poussin, no. 607 and/or the Siṃhaprabha who translated the *Kun Byed Rgyal-po* together with Vairocana (Karmay, 'A Discussion', pp. 148-50).

67. Tibetan text *M*.

68. Substitute Mahāvairocana for Samantabhadra and you have the Shingon definition of *Teacher*.

69. Tibetan text *N*.

70. Līlavajra, *Dpal Gsang-ba'i snying-po'i 'Grel-pa: Rin-po-che'i Spar-khab* (p. 35.4). Tibetan text *O*.

71. Tibetan text *P*.

72. Tibetan text *Q*.

73. Tibetan text *R*.

74. Tibetan text *S*.

75. Wayman, 'Symbolism of the Maṇḍala-Palace.'

76. Klong-rdol Bla-ma, *The Collected Works* (p. 294).

77. Raghu Vira (ed.), *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti* (p. 69, verse 144).

78. *Peking* (no. 2064; vol. 109, pp. 140-4-4 ff.).

79. See illustration in Anesaki, *Buddhist Art* (plate xvi).

80. This point is clearly made in the first chapter of the *Chos-dbyings Rin-po-che'i Mdzod* and its autocommentary by Klong-chen-pa.

81. Studies on *Kun Byed Rgyal-po* are imminent. I have seen one by Eva Dargyay (Calgary) in manuscript, soon to be published. Samten Karmay (Paris) has also promised a study. I personally

disagree with the idea that Shaivism, etc., are at all necessary for understanding the *Kun Byed*. It seems to be a 'scholarization' of the polemical position that the *Kun Byed* is non-Buddhist, a position that should not be taken as a starting point for a critical hermeneutic.

82. See "Gsang Sngags Rdo-rje Theg-pa'i Tshul-las Snang-ba Lhar Bsgrub-pa" in Rong-zom-pa, *Selected Works* (pp. 125-151) where this argument is given in detail.

83. Here I must acknowledge the contribution of Taoist lore-master Judith A. Berling (Bloomington). She has dealt with the thirteen Vehicles of Taoist inner alchemy meditation in her work, *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en* (pp. 101-103). A statement in the *Lotus Sūtra* is cited in support of Rdzogs-chen by Zhe-chen Padma-rnam-rgyal in his *Snga-'gyur Theg Dgu'i Tshogs Bshad* (p. 58.2). Full citation in Tibetan text *T*. In my opinion, attempts to trace the development of the five Tathāgata imagery have not been too successful, but see Matsunaga, 'A History of Tantric Buddhism.'

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(Mi-pham) 'Jam-dpal-dgyes-pa'i-rdo-rje, "*Gsang* 'Grel *Phyogs Bcu'i Mun Sel*-gyi Spyi Don: 'Od-gsal Snying-po," *Rnying-ma Bka'-ma Rgyas-pa*, Dupjung Lama (Kalimpong: 1982), vol. 27, pp. 209-468.

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POSTSCRIPT

At the time of writing, I did not have available to me the study by Ronald Davidson on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* contained in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honor of R.A. Stein* (edited by Michel Strickmann), vol. 1, pp. 1-69. On pages 6-7 (note 18) he gives the correct Sanskrit form of Sgeg-pa'i-rdo-rje as Vilāsavajra (not Līlavajra, although this has been the form used in previous scholarship).

Some of the recent works of Kenneth Eastman (which he kindly sent to me) have traced *Guhyagarbha* and related material in the Tun-huang documents. Many of Eastman's works are unfortunately not yet published. On the basis of much more detailed textual study, he has been able to take some of the conclusions advanced here much further than I was able to do.

[A]

གལ་ཏེ་རྟེན་འབྱུང་ཡང་དག་ཤེས། །དེ་ཡིས་སྟོང་པ་.....
མཚུངས་ལྡན་ཤེས། །གལ་ཏེ་རྟེན་འབྱུང་མྱི་ཤེས་ན། །
སྟོང་པ་དེ་ནི་རིག་མྱི་འགྱུར། །

[B]

འཇིག་རྟེན་ཚགས་པ་ན་ནམ་མཁའ་སྟོང་པ་ལ་ཚངས་པའི་
གཞལ་མེད་ཁང་དག་མངོན་པར་འགྱབ་ལ། ཡང་འོད་.....
གསལ་གྱི་ལྷའི་རིས་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཅན་འགའ་ཚེ་རབ་ཆིང་.....
ལས་རབ་ལ། བསོད་ནམས་རབ་པ་ཞིག་ཏེ་འོས་ནས.....
ཚངས་པའི་གཞལ་མེད་ཁང་སྟོང་པར་སྐྱེ་སྟེ་དེ་ན་གཅིག་
པུ་རྩ་མེད་ཅིང་གོགས་མེད་པར་ཚེ་རིང་བས་ཡུན་རིང་བར་
གནས་སོ། །དེ་ནས་སེམས་ཅན་དེ་ཡུན་རིང་པོ་ལས་
འདས་པ་དང་། སྲིད་པ་སྐྱེས་ཤིང་མི་དགའ་བར་གྱུར་ཏེ།
ཀྱི་མ་བདག་དང་སྐལ་མཉམ་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་གཞན་ཞིག་
འདིར་སྐྱེས་ཀྱང་ཅི་མ་རུང་ཞེས་སེམས་ཅན་དེའི་སེམས་.....

ཀྱིས་སྨོན་པ་དང་། འོད་གསལ་གྱི་ལྷའི་རིས་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཅན་
གཞན་ཚེ་ཟད་ཅིང་ལས་ཟད་པ་ལ་བསོད་ནམས་ཟད་པ་
ཞིག་ཅེ་འཕོས་ནས་ཚངས་པའི་གཞལ་མེད་ཁང་དུ་སེམས་
ཅན་དེ་དང་བསྐལ་པ་མཉམ་པར་སྐྱེས་སོ། །དེ་ནས་
སེམས་ཅན་དེ་འདི་སྙམ་དུ་བདག་གཅིག་པུ་ཟུམེད་ཅིང་
གྲོགས་མེད་པར་ཚེ་རིང་བས་ཡུན་རིང་པོར་གནས་ཏེ།
བདག་ཡུན་རིང་པོར་གནས་པ་ལས་འདས་པས་སྲིད་པ་
སྐྱེས་ཤིང་མི་དགའ་བར་ཐྱུར་སྟེ། ཀུ་མ་བདག་དང་སྐལ་པ་
མཉམ་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་གཞན་ཞིག་འདི་ར་སྐྱེས་ཀྱང་ཅི་མ་
ཟད་ཞེས་བདག་གི་སེམས་ཀྱིས་དེ་ལྟར་སྨོན་པ་དང་།
སེམས་ཅན་འདི་དག་འདི་ར་བདག་དང་སྐལ་པ་མཉམ་
པར་སྐྱེས་པ་ལས་ན་སེམས་ཅན་དེ་དག་ནི་བདག་གིས
སྐུལ་ཏོ། །བདག་སེམས་ཅན་འདི་དག་དང་དངོས་པོ་
རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཕར་ཐྱུར་པ་སྟེ་དབང་ཕྱུག་གོ །བྱེད་པ་པོའོ། །

འབྱིན་པ་པོའོ། །འབྱིན་བྱེད་དོ་སྐམ་མོ་སེམས་ཅན་དེ་དག་
ཀྱང་འདི་སྐམ་དུ་སེམས་ཏེ། སེམས་ཅན་འདི་དག་ནི་
བདག་ཅག་གིས་གཅིག་པུ་རྩྭ་མེད་ཅིང་གློག་མེད་པར་ཆེ་
རིང་བས་ཡུན་རིང་པོར་གནས་པར་མཐོང་ངོ། །དེ་
ཡུན་རིང་པོར་གནས་པ་ལས་འདས་ནས་སྲིད་པ་སྐྱེས་
ཤིང་མི་དགའ་བར་གྱུར་ཏེ། ཀྱི་མ་བདག་དང་བསྐལ་པ་
མཉམ་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་གཞན་གཞིན་ཞིག་འདིར་སྐྱེས་ཀྱང་ཅི་མ་
ཟུང་སྐམ་ནས། སེམས་ཅན་དེས་ད་ལྟར་སེམས་ཀྱིས་སློན་
པ་དང་། འདིར་བདག་ཅག་སེམས་ཅན་དེ་དང་སྐལ་པ་
མཉམ་པར་སྐྱེས་པ་ལས་ན་བདག་ཅག་ནི་སེམས་ཅན་
དེས་སྨྱལ་པའོ། །སེམས་ཅན་དེ་ནི་བདག་ཅག་དང་
དངོས་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཕར་གྱུར་པ་སྟེ་དབང་ཕྱུག་གོ །བྱེད་
པ་པོའོ། འབྱིན་པ་པོའོ། འབྱིན་བྱེད་དོ་སྐམ་མོ་དེ་ནས་
སེམས་ཅན་འགའ་ཞེ་ཅིང་ལས་ཅད་ལ། བསོད་

ནམས་ཟད་པ་ཞིག་གནས་དེ་ནས་ཤི་འཕོས་ནས། འདིར་
མི་རྣམས་དང་སྐལ་པ་མཉམ་པར་བྱུང་ལ་དེ་དབང་པོ་
རྣམས་ཡོངས་སུ་སྨིན་ཅིང་ནར་སོན་པའི་ཆུས་ན་སྐྱེ་དང་
ཁ་སྤུ་བྲིགས་ཏེ་གོས་ངུར་སྨིག་བགོས་ནས་ཡང་དག་ཉིད་
ཀྱི་དད་པས་ཁྱིམ་ནས་ཁྱིམ་མེད་པར་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་སྟེ། དེ་
དགོན་པ་ན་གནས་ཀྱང་རུང་ཤིང་དུང་ན་གནས་ཀྱང་རུང་
ཁང་སྟོང་ན་གནས་ཀྱང་རུང་སྟེ། བརྩོན་པའི་ཆུ་ལས་བྱུང་
བ་དང་སྟོང་བའི་ཆུ་ལས་བྱུང་བ་དང་། སྨོམ་པའི་ཆུ་ལས་
བྱུང་བ་དང་ལན་མང་དུ་བྱེད་པའི་ཆུ་ལས་བྱུང་བ་དང་ཡང་
དག་པ་ཡིད་ལ་བྱེད་པ་དག་གི་ཆུ་ལས་བྱུང་བ་དག་གིས་
སེམས་ཞི་བའི་ཏིང་ངེ་འཛིན་དེ་ལྟ་བུ་ལ་རེག་པར་བྱེད་དོ།།
དེ་ལྟར་སེམས་མཉམ་པར་བཞག་པ་ལས་སྟོན་གྱི་ལུས་དེ་
ཡང་དག་པར་རྫོགས་སུ་དྲན་ནོ། །དེ་འདི་སྐམ་དུ་སེམས་ཏེ་
ཚངས་པ་དེ་ནི་དངོས་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཕར་གྱུར་པ་སྟེ། དབང་

ཕྱག་གོ །བྱིད་པ་པོའོ། སྤྲུལ་པ་པོའོ། འབྱིན་པ་པོའོ། འབྱིན་བྱེད་དོ། དེ་ན་རྟག་པའོ། བརྟན་པའོ། ཐེར་རྒྱག་པའོ། རྣམ་པར་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་ཆོས་ཅན་ནོ། །ཡང་བདག་ཅག་ནི་ཚངས་པ་དེས་སྤྲུལ་པའི་ཕྱིར་བདག་ཅག་ན་མི་རྟག་པའོ། མི་བརྟན་པའོ། ཡིད་བརྟན་དུ་མི་རུང་བའོ། རྣམ་པར་འགྱུར་བའི་ཆོས་ཅན་ནོ་སྙམ་མོ། །

[C]

འདི་ལ་ཡང་སྟེ་བཞི་སྟེ། འཁོར་འདས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་རང་སྣང་དབྱེར་མེད་དུ་སྟོན་པ་དོ་རྗེ་སེམས་དཔའ་སྒྲུལ་འཕྲུལ་དུ་བ་དང་། ལས་ཆོག་ཆུས་པར་སྟོན་པ་རྣམ་པར་སྣང་མཛད་སྒྲུལ་འཕྲུལ་དུ་བ་དང་། རོལ་པ་སྟོན་དུ་སྟོན་པ་ལྟ་མོ་སྒྲུལ་འཕྲུལ་དུ་བ་དང་། ཐེག་པ་ཀུན་ལ་ཁྱབ་པར་སྟོན་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་སྒྲུལ་འཕྲུལ་དུ་བའོ། །

འབྱུང་བ་ལྔ་སྒྲུབ་མ་ལྡང་སྟེང་བ་རིས་སུ་མ་ཆད་པའི་ཆུས་.....
ཅིར་ཡང་འཕྲལ་པ་ནི་ཕྱང་པོ་ལྔ་སྟེ་ཆུ་འབྲས་འབྲལ་བ.....
ཅན་གྱི་ཕྱིར་དུ་བའོ། །

[F]

སྒྲུབ་མར་སྟོང་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་། །ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་ལས་
མི་གཞན་སྟེ། । ... ཐམས་ཅད་མི་དམིགས་དེ་བཞིན.....
ཉིད་ཡིན་པས། །ཀུན་ཀྱང་དབྱེར་མེད་ཆོས་སྐུའི་ཕུག་ཆུ...
ཡིན།

[G]

སེང་གེ་རྣམ་པར་བསྒྱིངས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ཏིང་ངེ་འཛིན.....
ནམ་མཁའ་དང་མཉམ་པས་དེའི་མྱིད་པ་འགྲོ་བ་ཐམས.....
ཅད་དུ་རྣམ་པར་སྟོང་བའི་ཆུན་དང་ལྡན་པ།

[H]

བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཀྱི་དེ་ལྟར་མཉམ་པར་བཞག་མ་ཐག་ཏུ…
ཡོ་བྱང་བཟོག་པ་ཆུན་ཆེན་པོ་ཅན་ཡང་མཐའ་དང……
དབུས་མྱེད་པར་ཡང་ས་ཤིང་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཐུབ་པ་མྱེད་པའི་ཆུལ……
མཚན་གྱིས་སའི་གཞི་རབ་ཏུ་བཀོད་པ་དང་། ནོར་བུ་རིན…
པོ་ཆེའི་ཆུལ་པོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་དུ་བ་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཀམ་པ། རིན
པོ་ཆེ་དུ་མའི་མེ་ཏོག་རིལ་མས་ཆལ་བར་གང་བ། …

[I]

ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལ་འཇུག་པའམ།

[J]

རིགས་ཀྱི་བུ་ཐབས་མཁས་པ་ནི་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ……
རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཕའོ། །ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ནི་མའོ། །

ཕྱང་པོ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྐྱུ་མ་ལྟ་བུར་ཡོངས་སུ་ཤེས་པས་སྐྱེ་བ་
དང་ཤི་འཕོ་དང་འཆི་བ་ཡོངས་སུ་བསྟན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་.....
ཀྱིས་དུབ་བར་མི་འགྱུར་རོ། ||ཁམས་དང་སྐྱེ་མཆེད་ཆོས་....
ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་དུ་རབ་ཏུ་རྟོགས་པས་ཡུལ་.....
ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་རྣམ་མི་འབྱུང་ངོ། ||

[L]

དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་རྣམས་དུལ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཕྱ་བ་གཅིག་ལ་....
ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་གཟུགས་བརྟན་རྣམ་པར་....
དམྱིགས་པར་ཡོངས་སུ་སྟོན་པར་མཛད་པ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་
ཁྱབ་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། ||

[M]

ཟབ་མོའི་དོན་གྱི་སྒོ་ནས་ནི་ཇི་བཞིན་བྱ་སྟེ། དེ་ལ་ཇི་ནི་
ཇི་ཀྱ་གསུམ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་གནས་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་མོའི་སྟ་གོ

སྟེ། ཡུམ་གྱི་པདྨ། བཅོ་ནི་རྡོ་རྗེ་དཔལ་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོའི་
རང་བཞིན་ཏེ།

[N]

བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་བྱེད་པ་པོ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཡིད་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོ།

[O]

ཡིད་ནི་སྐབས་ཀྱིས་རྟོག་པ་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་བདག་ཉིད་ཀྱི་
ཕྱིར་འཁོར་བ་དང་མྱ་ངན་ལས་འདས་པ་གཉིས་ཀའི་བྱེད་
པ་པོའོ། །དེཡང་ལྷོས་པའི་ཀུན་ཏུ་བརྟགས་པ་ཅན་རྣམས་
ཀྱིས་ཡིད་ཆུ་ཤྱེན་ལས་སྣང་བར་འདོད་པ་ལས་ཐུབ་པར་དུ་
གྱུར་པས་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཡིད་དེ། གང་འདུས་མ་བྱས་པས་སྐྱེ་འཇིག་
དང་བྲལ་བའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། །དེ་ཉིད་མ་བཙལ་བར་རང་སྣང་
བས། ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཁོ་ན་བས་སྣང་བྱ་མི་
དམིགས་པའི་ཕྱིར་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོའོ། །

བཙུན་མོ་བྱ་བ་མོ་ཆོས་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་མོ་ལ་འཇུག་པར་.....
གྱུར་ཏོ། ।

[Q]

འོག་མིན་གྱི་གནས་མཐའ་དང་དབུས་མེད་པ་ན་བཞུགས...
ཞེས་བྱ་བ་སློས་ཏེ། ཡུལ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་ཅི་སྙེད་པ་ལ.....
གཅོར་སློས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། ।

[R]

ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་ངོ་བོ་ཡིན་པས་གཞལ་ཡས་ཁང་ཞེས...
བྱའོ། ।

[S]

ཆོས་ཉིད་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་དག་པ་ཡིན་པའི་ཕྱིར། རྒྱུན་གྱི...
ཐུབ་པར་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་། ཤེལ་གྱི་དུང་ན་གནས་པའི་
གཟུགས་བཞིན་དུ། མི་སྣོད་པར་གསལ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། ।

མཐར་ཐུག་དུས་གསུམ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་བ་རྣམས་གང་ལས་.....
གཤེགས་ཤིང་གཤེགས་ལ་གཤེགས་པར་འགྱུར་བའི་.....
བགྲོད་པ་གཅིག་པའི་ལམ་མཆོག་མཐར་ཐུག་པ་ནི། འོད་
གསལ་ཏོ་རྗེ་སྙིང་པོའམ་བླ་མེད་གསང་མཆོག་རྒྱལ་པོའི་.....
ཐེག་པ་གཅིག་པུ་ཉིད་དེ། དམ་ཚོས་པད་དཀར་ལས།
དྲང་སྲོང་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཐེག་པ་གསུམ་བསྟན་པ། །རྣམ་
འདྲེན་རྣམས་ནི་ཐབས་ལ་མཁས་པས་ཏེ། །ཐེག་པ་གཅིག་
ལས་གཉིས་སུ་ཡོད་མ་ཡིན། །ཀཀྱི་བའི་དོན་དུ་ཐེག་པ་
གསུམ་བསྟན་ཏོ། །ཞེས་དང་། འཇམ་དཔལ་ལས། ཐེག་
པ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཐབས་ཚལ་གྱིས། །འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་ལ་རྟོག་པ་
པོ། །ཐེག་པ་གསུམ་གྱི་ངེས་འབྱུང་ལ། །ཐེག་པ་གཅིག་གི་
འབྲས་བུར་གནས། །